

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY: NEA:TTOMPKINS

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TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

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COLIN PASS TO ATHERTON

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 253983 SENT USUN NEW YORK DATED NOV 18.

QUOTE

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SUBJECT: PLO IN GA

FOR SCALI FROM BUFFUM

FOLLOWING IS THE FINALLY CLEARED TEXT OF US SPEECH ON
PALESTINE ITEM.

1. "THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE, AS THE SPEAKERS WHO HAVE
PRECEDED ME TO THE DEBATE HAVE AMPLY ILLUSTRATED, HAS
PREOCCUPIED US OVER THE YEARS MORE THAN ALMOST ANY OTHER
SINGLE ISSUE. THE UNITED NATIONS HAS NOT RESOLVED THE
BASIC CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IT HAS ENDEAVORED TO
MITIGATE IT, TO PREVENT THE OUTBREAK OF FIGHTING, STOP THE
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BLOODSHED ONCE IT BEGAN, AND TO AID THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN

THE VICTIMS OF THE FIGHTING AND WARFARE. IT IS THEREFORE FITTING, BEFORE ADDRESSING THE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES BEFORE US, TO REMEMBER AND HONOR THOSE WHO HAVE SERVED, AND WHO ARE NOW SERVING THE UNITED NATIONS IN ITS PEACEKEEPING, PEACEMAKING, AND HUMANITARIAN ENDEAVORS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

2. 'IN OUR DELIBERATIONS ON THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION, WE CANNOT AND MUST NOT FORGET OUR CONCERN FOR THE HUMAN BEINGS WHO HAVE SUFFERED AS A RESULT OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI

CONFLICT. WE RECOGNIZE AND SHARE THE GRIEF OF THOSE ON BOTH SIDES OF THE CONFLICT WHO IN TIMES OF WAR, AND IN TIMES OF UNEASY PEACE, HAVE SUFFERED TRAGIC LOSSES. WE RECOGNIZE ALSO, AS INDEED WE HAVE FOR MANY YEARS, THE TRAGEDY OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE LEFT THEIR HOMES BECAUSE OF THE CONFLICT AND HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO RETURN. EFFORTS BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO ALLEVIATE THEIR SUFFERING ARE ESSENTIAL BUT ARE NOT A SOLUTION.

3. "THE TASK NOW IS TO OBTAIN A SETTLEMENT OF THE PROBLEM TAKING THE PATH OF PEACE. IT IS TO THIS GOAL WHICH THE ENERGIES OF THE UNITED STATES ARE AND REMAIN FULLY COMMITTED.

4. "THE TRAGIC OUTBREAK OF WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST LAST YEAR FOR THE FOURTH TIME SHOULD HAVE EFFECTIVELY DEMONSTRATED TO THE PARTIES CONCERNED THAT MILITARY FORCE WOULD NOT BRING ABOUT A LASTING PEACE IN THE AREA ON ANYBODY'S TERMS. THAT REMAINS TRUE. MORE VIOLENCE WILL NOT RESOLVE THE PROBLEM BUT ONLY COMPOUND THE ALREADY EXCESSIVE HUMAN MISERY.

5. "THE ALTERNATIVE TO FORCE AND VIOLENCE IS NEGOTIATION. A GREAT ACHIEVEMENT OF THE PAST YEAR LIES IN THE FACT THAT THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT HAVE NOT ONLY ACCEPTED THIS ALTERNATIVE BUT HAVE BEGUN TO MAKE IT WORK. PASSAGE BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF RESOLUTION 338 WAS A LANDMARK IN THE HISTORY OF ARAB-ISRAELI RELATIONS. THE SECURITY COUNCIL FOR THE FIRST TIME DECIDED THAT IMMEDIATE NEGOTIATIONS MUST BEGIN 'BETWEEN THE PARTIES LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CONCERNED, UNDER APPROPRIATE AUSPICES, AIMED AT ESTABLISHING A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE.'

6. "THE ACCEPTANCE BY THE PARTIES OF THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS ESTABLISHED BY RESOLUTION 338 MADE POSSIBLE BOTH THE CONVENING OF THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE AND THE SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS THAT LED TO THE SIGNING OF AGREEMENTS ON THE DISENGAGEMENT OF FORCES BETWEEN EGYPT

AND ISRAEL AND ISRAEL AND SYRIA. THE DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENTS FURTHER CONFIRMED THE ACCEPTANCE BY THE PARTIES OF THE PRINCIPLES OF A STEP-BY-STEP NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. THE FINAL PARAGRAPHS OF THE AGREEMENTS READ: 'THIS AGREEMENT IS NOT REGARDED . . . AS A FINAL PEACE AGREEMENT. IT CONSTITUTES A FIRST STEP TOWARD A FINAL, JUST AND DURABLE PEACE ACCORDING TO THE PROVISIONS OF SC RESOLUTION 338 AND WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.'

7. "THE FOUNDATION OF SUCH STEPS TOWARD PEACE IS THE ACCEPTANCE BY ALL PARTIES OF THE PRINCIPLES OF RESOLUTION 338 -- TO ENGAGE IN THE GIVE AND TAKE OF NEGOTIATION WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF ACHIEVING A PERMANENT PEACE SETTLEMENT AMONG THEM ON A BASIS THAT ALL PARTIES CAN ACCEPT. IF ANY OF THE PARTIES REJECTS THIS GOVERNING PRINCIPLE OR QUESTIONS THE RIGHT TO EXIST OF ANY OF THE PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATION, OUR BEST HOPES FOR NEGOTIATION AND FOR PEACE ARE LOST.

8. "THE CONSEQUENCES OF A BREAKDOWN IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS CANNOT BE OVEREMPHASIZED. FOUR TIMES IN THE PAST 26 YEARS WAR HAS BROKEN OUT IN THE MIDDLE EAST FROM A SENSE OF PROFOUND FRUSTRATION THAT CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE PARTIES TO THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE WAS NOT POSSIBLE. A FIFTH WAR WOULD PRODUCE NO PERMANENT GAINS FOR ANY PARTY AND WOULD THREATEN THE SECURITY OF EVERY COUNTRY REPRESENTED IN THIS CHAMBER.

9. "THE PRIMARY OBJECTIVE OF THE U.S., THEREFORE, HAS BEEN TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. SECRETARY KISSINGER RECENTLY RETURNED FROM A VISIT TO THE MIDDLE EAST WHERE HE EXPLORED WITH EVERY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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LEADER HE CONSULTED THE QUESTION OF HOW THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS COULD MOST EFFECTIVELY CONTINUE, GIVEN THE PROGRESS ACHIEVED SO FAR AND THE OBSTACLES WHICH REMAIN. THIS PARAMOUNT QUESTION STILL HANGS IN THE BALANCE.

10. "THE BASIS FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS IS: THAT EACH PARTY MUST REMAIN COMMITTED TO THE NEGOTIATIONS; THAT EACH PARTY MUST BE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE PEACE WITH THE OTHERS; AND THAT THE SUBSTANTIVE AND PROCEDURAL DECISIONS ON (UNDERLINE) HOW (END UNDERLINE) TO PROCEED MUST EVOLVE THROUGH UNDERSTANDINGS AMONG THE PARTIES. IT WAS ON THIS BASIS THAT THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE WAS CONVENED UNDER THE CO-CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE US. AT THE TIME THE PARTIES AGREED TO ATTEND, THEY ALSO AGREED THAT THE ROLE OF

OTHER PARTICIPANTS FROM THE MIDDLE EAST AREA IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE DISCUSSED AT THE CONFERENCE.

11. "WE HOPE THAT EVERY UN MEMBER SINCERELY COMMITTED TO THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UN CHARTER WILL MAKE IT VERY CLEAR DURING THIS DEBATE THAT IT SUPPORTS THE RIGHT TO EXIST IN PEACE AND SECURITY OF EVERY STATE IN THE AREA AND

WILL REAFFIRM ITS SUPPORT FOR SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 338 AND 242 AS THE BASIS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. THIS IS THE BASIS ON WHICH PROGRESS SO FAR HAS BEEN POSSIBLE AND TO ALTER IT IS TO COMPLICATE THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, AT MINIMUM DELAYING FURTHER PROGRESS AND AT WORST ELIMINATING PROSPECTS FOR PROGRESS IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

12. "WE ARE ALL WELL AWARE OF THE DANGERS INHERENT IN SUCH A SITUATION. WE ARE ALSO ALL AWARE OF THE REALITY THAT NEGOTIATIONS CAN TAKE PLACE ONLY WHEN THE PARTIES ARE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE. WE ARE CONVINCED -- AND SUCCESSES OF THE PAST YEAR STRENGTHEN OUR CONVICTION -- THAT THE ONLY WAY TO MOVE CONCRETELY TOWARD PEACE IS THROUGH A PROGRESSIVE SERIES OF AGREEMENTS SUBSTANTIAL ENOUGH TO REPRESENT SIGNIFICANT STEPS, YET LIMITED ENOUGH FOR THE GOVERNMENTS INVOLVED TO ABSORB POLITICALLY. EACH LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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STEP HELPS ATTITUDES TO EVOLVE AND CREATES NEW CONFIDENCE AMONG THE PARTIES AND NEW SITUATIONS IN WHICH FURTHER STEPS CAN BE TAKEN.

13. "WITH THIS APPROACH, EFFECTIVE MOVEMENT TOWARDS AN ENDURING PEACE HAS TAKEN PLACE FOR THE FIRST TIME IN 26 YEARS. IT IS OUR STRONG CONVICTION THAT THE WAY TO MOVE TOWARD A SITUATION THAT IS MORE RESPONSIVE TO PALESTINIAN INTERESTS IS NOT THROUGH GLITTERING RESOLUTIONS OR THROUGH DRAMATIC PARLIAMENTARY MANEUVERS BUT BY WEAVING PALESTINIAN INTERESTS INTO THE GIVE-AND-TAKE OF THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. BY THIS EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS PALESTINIAN INTERESTS CAN BE REFLECTED IN THE NEW SITUATIONS THAT ARE CREATED.

14. "MR. PRESIDENT, IT IS THE FIRM BELIEF OF THE UNITED STATES THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION WE CAN MAKE DURING THIS DEBATE IS TO CREATE A CLIMATE WHICH WILL ENCOURAGE THE PARTIES TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. MY GOVERNMENT IS EQUALLY CONVINCED THAT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE CAN BE PROMOTED BY THIS NEGOTIATING PROCESS, AND THAT

THIS PROCESS WILL LEAD TO A JUST AND LASTING PEACE FOR
ALL PEOPLES IN THE MIDDLE EAST." INGERSEOLL UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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